

SHACKELL

The Life and Organization of
the Monks and Nuns as Described
in St. Jerome's Epistles

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"THE LIFE AND ORGANIZATION OF THE MONKS AND NUNS
AS DESCRIBED IN ST. JEROME'S EPISTLES"

BY

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A. B. University of Illinois, 1910

THESIS

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I HEREBY RECOMMEND THAT THE THESIS PREPARED UNDER MY SUPERVISION BY

Bessie Estelle Shackell

ENTITLED "*The Life and Organization of the Monks and Nuns as described
in St. Jerome's Epistles*"

BE ACCEPTED AS FULFILLING THIS PART OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE

DEGREE OF *Master of Arts*

Arthur Stanley Pease
In Charge of Major Work

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Recommendation concurred in:

W. A. Clalatter
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H. J. Barton

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on
Final Examination

In undertaking this subject we have chosen Jerome's Epistles, because from the length of the period which they cover, the variety of the subject matter, of persons addressed, and of places where written we may obtain a good idea of conditions existing in political, social and religious life during the last half of the 4th century A. D.

The letters from the years 370-380, approximately, were written from the Desert of Chalcis, where Jerome had retired, and was spending his time, while living the life of a hermit, in prayer and Scriptural studies. From 381-385 his letters are written from Rome whither he had gone on a religious embassy. It was during these years that he did his most influential work, the result of interesting the patrician women, and introducing the monastic fervor into Rome.

The death of his protector, pope Damasus, in 385 made it necessary for Jerome to leave Rome, since his outspokenness in furthering his ideas had created great enmity against him. After travelling through EGYPT and Palestine he settled in a monastery at Bethlehem, whence the rest of his letters are written.
1
He died there in 420.

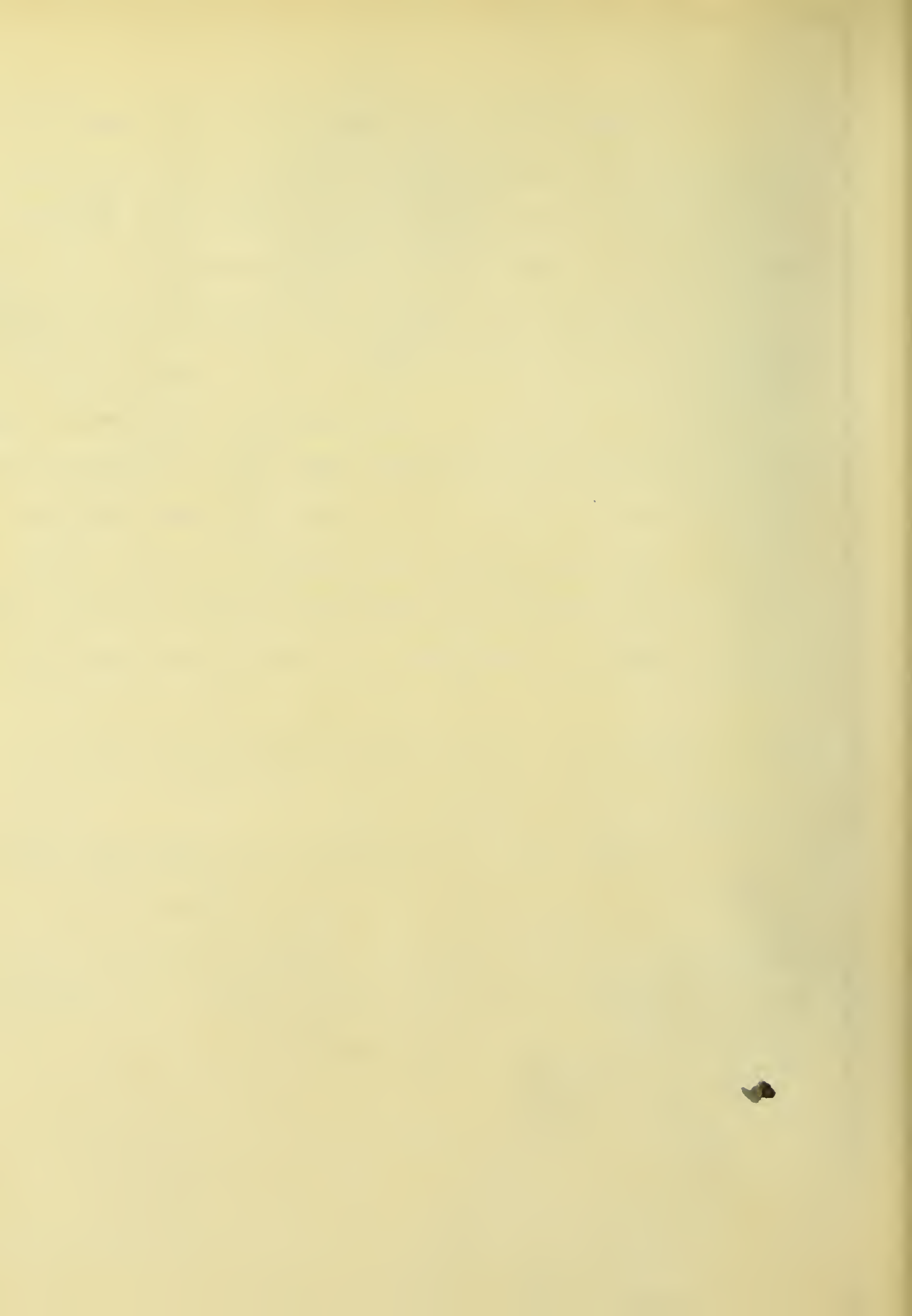
1. **The** texts used are. for Epistles 1-70 inclusive, Hilberg, I. Sancti Eusebii Hieronymi Epistulae, (C. S. E. L. vol 54.) and for Epistles 71-150 Sancti Eusebii Hieronymi Epistulae, Ed. Vallarsi

In order best to understand the rise and importance of monasticism in the Roman world we must have in mind the condition of the Empire, and the state of society which paved the way for the enthusiastic reception of monastic principles.

Roman moral and religious life had fallen into a decline even at the beginning of the Imperial period, had from then on the universal decay, which though gradual, was manifest and uninterrupted. When the barbarians began their southward movements they no longer found a ruler or a people who could hold them in check more than temporarily. By the middle of the 3rd century even the frontier defenses were completely broken; and "peace, security to person and property, and everything that man might

(Con. from 1) vol 1 (as reprinted by Migne in the Patrol. Cursus Completus, series prima, vol 22)

Although many of his Epistles are on doctrinal points, or relate to his various religious controversies, no mention will be made of the latter, because his controversies are too large a subject in themselves. They may moreover easily be disassociated from the subject of this thesis.



hold dear seemed all but lost forever". Aurelian's strong rule
brought a temporary cessation of troubles in this direction, but
the barbarians from without, and the increasing misery from
within caused partly by the system of governmental succession
instituted later by Diocletian, by the oriental magnificence of
his courts, by the ruinous system of taxation, imposed to meet
the royal expenses, and by the driving out of existence of the
great middle class through the competition of slave labor: all
these causes contributed to a general feeling of despair through-
out the Empire. This feeling and the knowledge that the state
could not possibly remain intact for long caused such an out-
break of profligacy, and selfish luxury as can hardly be imag-
ined. Not that it was a sudden growth, for even the literature
of the first Century A. D. is filled with satire against the ex-
travagance and licentiousness of the time, but by the 4th cen-
tury there seemed to be no hope of a betterment of conditions,
and Jerome says fittingly, " Vivimus quasi altera die morituri
et aedificamus quasi semper in hoc saeculo victuri". (M¹³.4).
To enjoy the present seemed the best course to most, Christian
and pagan alike, for " the uncertain conditions of their property
discouraged the subjects--from engaging in those useful and
laborious undertakings which require an immediate expense and
promise a slow and distant advantage. The frequent examples of
ruin and desolation tempted them not to spare the remains of a
patrimony which might, any hour, become the prey of the

rapacious Goth. And the mad prodigality which prevails in the confusion of a shipwreck or a siege may serve to explain the excess of luxury amidst the misfortunes and terrors of a sinking nation! (Gibbon, Decline and Fall, Chap. 37). This profligacy extended even to the better Emperors, for the historian, Zosimus¹ states (though we must take into account the fact~~t~~ that he was prejudiced or adverse to Theodosius) that even in the great and good Theodosius were to be seen all the vices and species of corruption of the time.

1. Zosimus l. IV. p. 244

The private life of the Romans at this time is but an epitome of the conditions seen in the state, and even by a cursory perusal of Jerome's Epistles the extravagance in dress and eating, the immorality in the home life, and the disregard of the marriage ties are obvious. He describes the daily round of the woman of fashion who spends her day in making and receiving calls, in gossiping, in slandering the absent, in criticising and being criticised in turn (13.2). She is accustomed to bathe every day,

1. When the public baths or "balneae" were first instituted, they were only for the lower orders, who alone bathed in public, but as early as the time of Julius Caesar the higher classes began to frequent them, and during the Empire they were used so indiscriminately by men and women that restrictive laws were passed by both Marcus Aurelius and Alexander Severus. This legislation was not permanently effective as shown by the censures of the church Fathers. (Harper's Dict. of Classical Lit. Balneae)

Balnei and ointments (123.3) "Uteris balneis, cute nitida, carnibus vesceris, affluis divitis, pretiosa veste circumdaris, et iuxta serpentem mortiferum secure dormire te credis". Note also Jerome's advice to the clergy not to be led "By the multitudes of sinners and the throng of perishing who -- visit the baths and do not scorn ointments" (125.17) and of the nun Eustochium, he said, "Balneas nisi periclitans non alit." (109.15)

delights in dainty and expensive foods¹ (45.5) and has crowds of professional musicians (45.5) and actors (70.9) at her home. These are mentioned in severe terms as when Jerome counsels the widowed Furia² to drive away the singer as a dangerous being, and the female players of the lute and cithara and the troops of dancers, likened to the devil, to expel from her home and shun as she would the songs of the sirens themselves. (54.13). Every woman of any means was surrounded by a host of attendants and slaves (32.16) into whose hands she not only intrusted herself in matters of household management and of her toilet, but the education and bringing up of her children as well. The latter was

1. Large amounts were spent for rare varieties of game and fish (45.5). Of the former, pheasants and turtle doves are mentioned as delicacies (108.10)

2. Furia was a patrician woman who married a son of Probus who had held the consulate, and her brother was the son-in-law of Paula. Her husband died early, leaving her with a family of young sons. In 393 she projected a splendid but undesirable second marriage, but she determined to cast all this aside, and live as a widow, and wrote to Jerome for counsel as to the regulation of her life. For his reply see EP 54. (Smith Dict of Christ. Biog.)

particularly harmful, for the "nutrices" and "servi" delighted in gossiping, spreading disgraceful slanders, and in magnifying any evil report possible about the Christians(54.5). Women were advised to avoid not only the "nutrices" and "gerulae" (54.5) and those connected with the household in any higher capacity, such as the "steward with curled hair", the "effeminate actor" and the "cantoris diabolici venenata dulcedo", but widows, especially if they kept up a large establishment, and had need of many slaves were to put in charge of them some old man of good morals, "cuius honor dominae dignitas sit". (79.8) Young girls were urged to avoid the presence of society women¹ whose conversation was "poisonous" (130.18) and to be subject to their mother or grandmother, and not even to see young men² except in their presence. Nor were

1. The Moral character of the women of the nobility may be noted from the warning to the virgin Eustochium: "I would not have you consort with matrons; I would not have you approach the homes of the nobles, I would not often have you see, what in contempt you renounced to remain a virgin." (22.16)

2. They were urged also not to dine with men, and Jerome states that Paula, after her husband's death, ate with no man for the rest of her life. "Nunquam post viri mortem usque ad diem dormitionis suae cum ullo comedit viro, quamvis eum sanctum, et in pontificali secreti culmine constitutum". (108.15)



they to go out in public freely or even to mingle with the throngs in the churches constantly. (123.3). An inordinate love of the material pleasure¹ of the table, as noted above, and of ~~deest~~ was the besetting sin of both men and women, hence Jerome's frequent and strong admonitions to them to abstain from wine and from "esculentioribus cibis". (22.11 et passim) Furthermore he commanded Laeta², not to dine in public, that is at the social meals

1. "Sometimes scales are sent for at their entertainments to weigh the fish, or the birds, or the dormice which are set on the table; and then the size of them is dwelt on over and over again, to the great weariness of those present as something never seen before; especially when near thirty secretaries stand by, with tablets and memorandum books, to record all these circumstances. (Ammianus Marcellinus, Roman Hist Bk 28, Chap. 4)

2. To Laeta whom he calls "religioussima in Christo filia" (107.2) he wrote his letter describing how a girl who had been dedicated to virginity from babyhood should be brought up. This letter was a response to her request for a course of education for her daughter. (EP. 107)

of her parents, lest she should see food for which she might long. (107.8)

We may gain a very good idea , too, of their extravagances in dress from Jerome's constant allusions to it and to the arts of their toilet. Using white lead and rouge on the face and neck and blackening the eyebrows(117.4) was, it seems, general, (38.3,107.5 and 130.7) and false hair was freely employed to build up a great tower on the head(130.7). Nor did the hair always match, for it was considered in good taste to combine black and blonde hair on the same head, and red hair was often imported at great expense from Germany (Thierry, Vie de Marcelle p.10). Dyes were used too, for Jerome speaks against reddening the hair (107.5). The tresses were adorned with strings of gems or gold beads. Pearls seem to have been favorites¹, for Jerome mentions them frequently, but always with the warning to prefer the pearls of a beautiful character to the more costly ones they can buy. (107.5). The society women covered themselves with jewelry, wore²

1 Speaking of India he says: " Ubi nascitur carbunculus, et smaragdus et margarita candentia et 'uniones'(solitaire pearls) quibus nobilem feminarium ardet ambitio." (105.3)

2. Jerome mentions (130.7) pearls, emeralds, the onyx and sapphires "ad quae ardent et insaniunt studia matronarum" .

carriages (107.5 and 107.3), the material of their tunics was silk¹ or the finest linen embroidered with designs in gold and gems, (63.5) and their slippers were covered with gold (79.7). The contrast between the woman of the world and the one who led the life of a Christian is best brought out by the description of Blesilla, the daughter of Paula before and after her conversion to Christianity. Then^{the} maid arranged her hair and the top was bound around with a curled head band; now her neglected head knows that it is sufficient only that it be veiled. At that time the softness of feathers seemed hard to her and she could scarcely lie on the high built bed. Now she rises early to pray - - - bends her knees on the bare ground, and her countenance, before defiled with white lead, is cleansed by frequent tears. - - - Her tunic is dark brown, that is less soiled when she lies on the ground. Wearing cheaper slippers, she bestows the price of shoes adorned with gold or gems on the needy. Her girdle is not adorned with gold or gems, but is of wool and of the utmost simplicity².

1. Jerome also speaks against the use of ermine (130. 19).

2. Tunc crines ancillulae disponebant et mitellis crispantibus vertex artabatur innoxius; nunc neglectum caput scit sibi tantum sufficere quod velatur, illo tempore plumarum quoque dura mollitie videbatur et in exstructis toris iacere vix poterat; nunc ad orandum festina consurgit ---- flectuntur genua super nudam humum

Some of the salient features of the women of the nobility have been described, partly because from them a good idea may be obtained of the state of society contemporaneous with Jerome's life, and partly because, as he wrote many of his epistles to women, he naturally refers to their acts and characteristics more than to those of the men. The daily life of the latter was as dissolute as that of the former, however, as may be inferred from Jerome's frequent warnings against acquaintanceship with men.

(128.3) The historian Ammianus Marcellinius¹ gives a vivid picture of the ostentation and insolence of the noblemen of the fourth century, "who measure their rank and consequence according to the loftiness of their chariots and the weighty magnificence of their dress. Their long robes of silk and purple float in the winds; they are followed by a train of fifty servants, and, tearing up the pavement, they move along the streets with the same impetuous speed as if they travelled with post horses". He further speaks of their insolence in appropriating everything to their

(Continued) et crebris lacrimis facies psimithis ante sordidata purgatur --- pulla est tunica minus cum humi iacuerit, sordidatur, soccus vilior: auratorium pretium calceorum egentibus largietur ciniculum non auro gemisque distinctum est sed laneum et tota simplicitate purissimum" 38.4.

own use if they condescend to visit the public baths; their trip into the country followed by their whole body of slaves marshalled in troops, journeys which they compare to the marches of Caesar and Alexander; and their banquets where "the modest, the sober, and the learned are seldom invited, but where parasites and the most worthless of mankind are the chief companions"¹. That his account is somewhat exaggerated there is no doubt, but allowing even for that, there may be obtained from him, too, an idea of the excesses into which the Romans had plunged.

After surveying conditions in social and moral life the state of the church and of its clergy should be noted. To understand its condition at this time we must review some of the steps in its development from an obscure sect to the point where it became the state religion. The Christians had been persecuted, and had had opposed to their development every obstacle possible from the very beginning, but this had only aided their growth in a spiritual way. In the latter half of the second century, however, according to Harnack," the church found herself confronted with a dilemma, either to begin a world-mission on a grand scale by effectively entering the Roman social system,- of course to the rejection of her original equipment and force, or to retain these, to keep the original forms of life, but to remain a small and insignificant sect scarcely intelligible to one in a thousand,

1. Ammianus Marcellinus . Rom. Hist. Bk. 14, Chap. 6.

incapable of saving and educating whole nations¹". The completion of this step was made at the time of Constantine when he adopted the Cross as his standard. The change from persecution to supreme power was a sudden one and it was impossible for the church to withstand entirely its effect. Thus, brought into such intimate relations with the pagan state, there were two possibilities, either that the old civilization would dominate that of the church, or that the latter would practically destroy the Roman culture, as was done with the temples and statuary. For a while it seemed as if the moral inertia of the age were to dominate the church since she could not replace and transform in a day a society that for three centuries had been in a state of servitude and corruption. The increasing decay of the Empire and the licentiousness of the new converts to Christianity demonstrated that, though Constantine had assured the political victory of the church, he did so to the detriment of Christian principles in the world. Yet these principles were destined to triumph, for they embodied the essential ideas which were to prove a corrective for the materialism of the times. In judging the characteristics of the church of the fourth century it should not be measured by the standard of the first, nor should its gross secularization be condemned, if we consider its subsequent services to the Roman as well as the barbarian races.²

1. Harnack Monasticism p. 26.

2. " What she kept was after all not merely a remnant that she

Most of the vices in the church arose from a sudden access of wealth. It had not only the support of the state, but private individuals gave immense sums, even entire fortunes to bodies of ecclesiastics, and their accompanying greed became so great that Valentinian I¹ passed a law declaring null any will or legacy made to the church. Jerome acknowledges that the necessity of this law when he says: " I am ashamed to say that heathen priests, actors, chariot drivers and harlots receive legacies, the clergy and the monks alone are prohibited from it by this law; and are prohibited not by persecutors, but by Christian rulers. I do not complain about the law, but I do grieve because we have merited the decree"². The clergy, however, soon found means to evade this enactment by appropriating sums from the donations intrusted to them

(Continued from p. 13) could not lose, nor a ruin that was not worth preserving, but the old Gospel - though a Gospel dressed in the hulks and trappings of the time and bereft of the vigorous claim to regulate the whole life from within". Harnack Monasticism p. 34 ff

1. Emperor from 364 - 375.

2. Pudet dicere: sacerdotes idolorum, mimi et aurigae et scorta haereditates capiunt; solis clericis et monachis hoc lege prohibetur: et prohibetur non a persecutoribus sed a principibus Christianis, nec de lege conqueror: sed doleo cur meruerimus hanc legem.
(52.6)

to be distributed to the poor¹ (52.9) until finally this abuse became so flagrant that St Chrysostom advised the members of his flock to distribute their alms themselves, and to charge neither priest nor deacon with that work (Thierry p. 14). Jerome enumerates also the little gifts of various sorts, handkerchiefs, bandages, robes embroidered with gold, edible delicacies, and flattering notes which the clergy should not receive². When on the feast of St. Peter, Eustochium³ sends him a letter and gifts of bracelets, doves, and a basket of cherries, he accepts them because each of the gifts is mentioned in the Bible and has some spiritual significance, but at the same time he warns her not to think of worldly things, and tells her that the ornaments of good works are the true bracelets for her arms. (31.2) In the same way he accepts from Marcella presents of sackcloth, chairs, wax tapers and goblets (44.1). That he made exceptions of these gifts and scorned

1. " Sunt qui pauperibus paulum tribuunt ut amplius accipiant; et sub praetextu eleemosynae quaerunt divitias quae magis venatio appellanda est quam eleemosynae genus". (52.9) Cf. also 58.2 and 14.8

2. Crebra munuscula et orariola et fasciolas et vestes ori adplicatas et degustatos cibos, blandasque et dulces litterulas sanctus amor non habet. (52.5)

3. Eustochium, the daughter of Paula who followed Jerome to the East and with her mother established three convents at Bethlehem.

to receive money or rewards of that nature is shown by his indignant query, when complaining about the aspersions cast on his character because of his intimacy with the holy Paula. " Can they say what they have ever seen in me other than what befitted a Christian? From whom have I received money? Have I not spurned gold rung in my hand?"

1 Many, however, did not follow Jerome's example, but, besides appropriating money for their own use, abused their right of entry into the homes of the nobles, and of communication with the women. There were those who even became presbyters or deacons with this purpose in view, and with their hair curled, and their fingers flashing with rings, went to the homes to display their effeminate charms and only departed from them with hands filled with gold. (22.38) Because of these evils and of the slanders that were attached even to the innocent, the clergy and the monks were advised not to go alone to the house of a widow or maiden, and " si lector, si acolytus, si psalter te sequitur, non ornentur veste sed moribus, nec calamistro crispent comas". (52.5) This immorality crept into monastic life as well as into that of the secular clergy, but before going into the

1. Discant quid unquam in me aliter senserint quam Christianum decebat? Pecuniam cuius accepi? Munera vel parva vel magna non sprevi? In manu mea aes alicuius insonuit? (45.2)

2. Others, cloaking their designs under the rough garb of the monk committed the same acts. (125.6)

the various phases of monasticism, both good and bad , its origin is to be noted and the principles whe monks instilled which satisfied the great needs of the time and helped to counteract the universal corruption¹.

Asceticism was not originated with the Christian religion, for it was manifested in various forms in many of the eastern pagan religions. The Essenes², the Therapeutae³ and some other

1. The secularization of the clergy was evidenced even in their reading. " At nunc etiam sacerdotes Dei, omissis Evangeliiis et Prophetis, videmus Comedias legere amatoria Bucolicorum versuum verba canere, tenere Virgilium; et id quod pueris necessitatis est, crimen in se facere voluptatis." (21.13)

2. The Essenes were a Jewish sect of mystics - ascetics who combined foreign elements especially Oriental and Greek with Jewish doctrines and with certain views and practices of their own. Their cardinal doctrine was the sacredness of the inspired law of God, and for this reason they paid the greater homage to Moses. They believed that to lead a pure life and "mortify the flesh" would bring them nearer to God . (McClintock and Strong- Bibl. Theol. and Eccles. Ency.)

3. The Therapeutae were a Jewish sect in Egypt who are sometimes identified with the Essenes. Gratz, the Jewish historian thinks the account of this sect by Philo (de Vita Contemplativa) to be spurious and only an embellishment of Christian monachism as it began in Egypt. (McClintock and Strong - Bibl. ,Theol. and Eccles. Ency.)

Origin
and need
of Mon-
astic
Princi-
ples.

oriental mystics are considered by some¹ to be the direct precursors of Christian asceticism. The teachings of the Neo-Platonists in the schools of Alexandria were another incentive towards hermit life, for their philosophy encouraged most strongly contemplation and separation from one's fellow men. Monasticism in the proper sense of the word cannot be traced back beyond the fourth century, though ascetics are mentioned from the commencement of Christianity. (Smith. Dict. of Christ. Antiq. p. 1219). In the third century hermits began to form a distinct class in the East and in Africa: in the fourth they began to be organized into cenobitic communities. The terms "monastery", originally the cell or cave of a solitary hermit, "laura", an irregular cluster of cells, and "coenobium", an association of monks few or many under one roof and under one government, (Ep. 21) mark the three earliest stages in the development of monasticism. (Smith, Dict. of Christ. Antiq. p. 1219) In Syria and Palestine each monk had originally a separate cell, in lower Egypt two were together in one cell, whence the term "syncellita" or sharer of the cell came to express this sort of comradeship: in the Thebaid under the customs of Pachomius of Tabenna each cell contained three monks. (Pallad., Historia Lausiaca C. 38). Monasticism originated in the East and from there was transplanted much later into the countries of Western Europe. In the regions around the Eastern Mediterranean it had reached its

1. Smith - Dict. of Christ. Antiq. "Monastery".

greatest height and had sunk into decay before it had become well started in Italy and Gaul. The enthusiasm for monasticism at Rome really started with the visit and preachings of Athanasius, about forty years before Jerome arrived there, but it was left to the latter to give the great impetus to the work that had been begun, and to see the fruits of his labors in the rapid spread of the movement.

The social, moral and religious stagnation gave opportunity for the establishment of monasticism. To many the great benefits of these men may seem to have consisted in the results of their labors, the reclaiming of vast tracts of land, and the saving of much of the ancient literature, but their real triumph lay in the demonstration, by their lives, of the benefits of the subordination of the physical to the spiritual nature. The monks have frequently been too greatly censured for their extremes of asceticism and their preachings against marriage, but had it not been for these very extremes their doctrines would never have gained the hold they did.¹

Though the development of monastic life was rather different in the East and in the West, owing to the varying conditions of climate and civilization, yet the monastic ideal, separation from the world and virginity, was identical in both regions, and

1. "No new principle can assert itself in this world of sluggishness and custom unless it applies the keenest criticism to the condition of the present time, and makes the most exacting demands upon us." (Harnack, "Monasticism" 12 ff.)

remained so for a thousand years. (Harnack, "Monasticism" p. 7) Jerome has much to say on virginity as opposed to marriage nor, with the knowledge of conditions, is he as extreme as one might expect. He does, it is true, consider virginity the only perfect life, comparing it to marriage as gold to silver, or as the fruit to the tree, and approves marriage in the same way that he does of food, as something which God created to be used (48.2). He definitely states that he considers marriage on a lower scale than virginity, and lauds correspondingly those who, like the maiden ¹Demetrias, reject the former regardless of the wishes of parents and relatives. He also urges widows most strongly not to remarry. Though he was opposed to the marriage of priests he was not an extremist on this point either, for in discussing the question whether a widower who had married again should be ordained a priest in contrast to those who were bitterly opposed to it, he urges consistently that if that qualification were insisted on all the other requisites should be demanded just as strongly i. e.,

1. Demetrias; a young woman of patrician rank and great wealth (130.1) had been urged by her mother and grandmother to marry, until one day she suddenly appeared before them in the garb of a nun, and throwing herself at their feet, begged them to sanction her move. Their joy, states Jerome, proved to be as great as their surprise at her sudden action. (130.5)

"sobrium, prudentem, ornatum, hospitalem doctorem, non violentem, non percussorem: sed modestum, non litigiosum, non avarum, domum suam bene receptum"- and he implies that these qualifications were too often overlooked. (60.3).

relation
of the
monks to
the World
Pilgrimages.

We have now to look at the relations of the monks to the world around them and their amount of intercourse with it. From their ideal of entire absorption in spiritual matters and strict asceticism, they were naturally cut off from the world, and they had as a class no part in the social and political life. Nor had they any desire to be connected with that world in which there was only corruption. They did not believe it possible to live the perfect life in the cities and among their fellow countrymen, and Jerome continually urges both men and women to leave their homes and everything they hold dear (14.2) . In writing to Heliodorus urging him to come to the desert of Chalcis and live the life of a hermit, he says: " Monachum in patria sua perfectum esse non posse. Perfectum autem esse nolle delinquere est." (14.7) Later writing from Bethlehem he describes his life as if it were to him ideal, living at a little distance from his brother monks in the monastery where he seldom sees or is seen by anyone. (117.4)

In spite of his longings for seclusion, he as well as the great majority of the monks and nuns in the East were brought into touch with large numbers of people through the popularity of the pilgrimages. The latter were made not only for the sake of visiting shrines and the places made holy by their connection with

Biblical characters, but also to see some of the far famed hermits of Egypt of Asia Minor. Jerome had written at the request of Marcella the lives of some of the most famous ascetics of the East ^{1.} This little work circulating widely had been one of the incentives in causing men and women to desire to see the hermits and even to follow their example. Many, like Paula and her daughter Eustochium, made these pilgrimages spurred on by a holy enthusiasm verging on fanaticism for their religion. Later throngs of the idle and the curious followed in their wake and great abuses grew up. In a letter to Marcella written from Bethlehem about 390 Paula and her daughter describe the eagerness of the visitors to approach the shrines of the martyrs and kiss the relics (46.8). Even at that time pilgrims were flocking to Jerusalem from all quarters of the globe, for "he who was ruler in Gaul hastens hither. The Briton separated from our continent, if he has advanced in religion, leaving behind the setting sun, seeks the place known to him

1. These comprise the life of Paulus, whom he considers to be the first hermit. He took up the solitary life at the time of the persecution of the Christians by Decius and Valerianus; ^{and the lives} of Hilarion, a monk of Palestine and a disciple of Antony, the Egyptian ascetic, and of Malchus a Syrian monk. (For their lives see Hieron., Ed Vallar. as reprinted by Migne, Patrol. Lat. vol. 23.)

only by reputation and by its connection with the Scriptures. What of the peoples of India and Ethiopia, and Egypt herself near by, rich in monks, Pontus and Cappadocia, Coele-Syria and Mesopotamia and all the swarms of the Orient? --- They flock to these places and show us divers kinds of virtue¹.

The chief desire of the monks, isolation and freedom from the cares and temptations of the world, was controverted by the congestion in the East and Jerome wrote to one of the presbyters in 356, saying that it was utter foolishness to renounce the world, leave one's country, forsake the cities, avow oneself a monk and live in foreign parts among more people than one had lived with at home. This congestion would not have been so harmful had the throng consisted merely of monks and nuns, but crowds of actors and all the low classes of men that were to be found in any large city were to be seen in Jerusalem and the other sacred spots round about (58.4) so that they had become as profigate

1. *Quicumque in Gallia fuerit primus huc properat. Divisus ab orbe nostro Britannus si in religione processerat occidentem sole dimisso quaerit locum fama sibi tantum et scripturarum relatione cognitum. Quid referamus Armenios, quid Persas, quid Indiae et Aethiopum, populos ipsanque iuxta Aegyptum fertilem monachorum, Pontum et Cappadocium, Syriam Coelen et Mesopotamia, cunctaque orientis examina? --- concurrunt ad haec loca et diversarum nobis virtutum specimen ostendunt. (46.10)*

as Rome herself. That the evils of pilgrimages did not deter Jerome from an enthusiastic support of them, in the abstract, and of worshipping relics is seen by his attack on Vigilantius¹ who had dared "to call us who stand for relics, ashmen and idolators, worshippers of dead men's bones". (100.1) Many others deprecated pilgrimages, but apparently without much success. (Glover p. 111) The evils of crowding to the holy places and the vicinity of the monasteries were increased many fold during the last years of the 4th century and the first years of the fifth, when so many fled from their homes to escape the barbarians, and Jerome cries out in a despairing way "The whole world is going to destruction --- The glorious city and head of the Roman state has been destroyed in

1. Vigilantius, a presbyter of Comminges and Barcelona in the end of the fourth and the beginning of the fifth century, is known by his protests against the superstitious practices then creeping into the church. His work on this subject was written in 403 and is known to us only through the writings of Jerome. His own bishop (Ep. 100.3) and several others in the neighborhood approved his action, however, and he seems to have been appointed to a church in the diocese of Barcelona after the controversy with Jerome had run its course. (Smith, Dict. of Christ. Biog. p. 1142)

one conflagration. There is no region which does not contain Roman exiles". (138.4) During these years the monks were brought into touch with the world whether they willed or no, for it was to them that these exiles looked for aid and protection. Jerome describes (405 A. D.) the various causes which have prevented his working on a translation for pope Theophilus, namely the devastation of Phoenicia and Galilee, the terror in Palestine and particularly at Jerusalem from the threatened invasion of the Huns, the bitterness of the winter and the severe famine, "especially with us on whom the care of many brothers has been placed" . (114.1) Their lack of money was so great that Jerome was obliged (397) to sell some of his property in order to get sufficient money to run the monasteries(63.14) . Paula and Eustochium too had spent their vast fortune in almsgiving (108.30) and had it not been for this little property of Jerome's and the rich dowry that Paula's grand-daughter, the little Paula, brought to the convents a few years later they would have been utterly destitute. As it was they could care for but a fraction of the homeless, and Jerome describes most affectingly their helplessness when he says: "The daughters of the queenly city (Rome) wander now from shore to shore in Africa, in Egypt and in the East, at the port of Bethlehem , and as we cannot give to all we give them at least our tears and we weep together. Vainly do I try to avoid the spectacle

of so much suffering in resuming the work that I had commenced. I am incapable of study. I perceive too well that I must translate in works and not in words the precepts of the Scriptures 'not to say holy things but to do them'. (Hieron. Ezech. III Praefat.) These trials brought out strongly the nobility of character and generosity of the monks and nuns, but it also gave rise to the greatest abuses. Many as in the case of the alleged deacon Sabinianus gained entrance to the monasteries under false pretenses, and committed acts which disgraced not only their associates, but the whole order as well. (Ep. 147).

attitude
towards
monks

We have noted the ideal of the monks, withdrawal from the affairs of the world and from association with men except where necessity or their Christian duty called them. Tho this desire was selfish in that they did not wish to bear their political and social burdens, yet so hopeless was the condition of the Empire that we cannot blame their longing to avoid the corruption which they could not do away with. We have now to note the attitude of the pagans and even of the Christians towards them and their demeanor under hostile criticism.

Before Jerome's arrival and during his residence at Rome the monks were held in the utmost contempt in the West. They were hated by the rich and influential because they censured so strongly their mode of life, and by the ignorant masses because they did not understand the ideals of the monks. It was from the latter class, perhaps, that the monks had to endure the most. More than once does Jerome mention the fact that the slaves are only too willing to spread any harmful slanders possible, and whenever a monk appeared in the market place at Rome he was greeted with the cry: *ὁ γραικός!*, *ὁ ἐπιθέτης!* "the Greek! the imposter!" (54.5 and 38.5). Christian and pagan, rich and poor alike hated them because they urged and glorified the severing of home ties, and insisted on the literal interpretation of the command to leave all and follow Christ.¹ The attitude towards the monks on this

1. The following is typical of the preachings of the monks on this point: "Licet parvulus ex collo pendeat nepos, licet sparso crine et scissis vestibis ubera quibus nutrierat, mater ostendat, licet in limine pater iaceat per calcatum perge patrem. Siccis

ground is best shown by the outbreak of popular feeling at the funeral of Blesilla where her mother, Paula, overcome with grief, fainted. Jerome reproaches the latter for thus giving way, saying that the people kept muttering: "Isn't that what we have often said? She grieves that her daughter has been killed by fasting, because not even from her second marriage did she have grandsons. How long will it be before that detestable race of monks is cast from the city, is overwhelmed with stones and cast into the waves? They have led astray a wretched woman who tho she was unwilling to be a nun is approved of for this reason that none of the pagans ever wept so for their own sons"¹ In his letter to a young woman in Gaul Jerome tells her, too, that if anyone criticises her because she is a Christian and a nun and because she has forsaken her mother in order to enter a monastery, such a separation is only to her praise (117.4). Jerome's first important disciple and follower at Rome was the patrician Marcella whom he praises most highly for avowing herself a nun when "at that time none of the women of the nobility --- were acquainted with the aims of the monks nor did

1. "Nonne illud est quod saepius dicebamus? dolet filiam jejuniis interfectam quod non vel de secundo eius matrimonio tenuerit nepotes. quousque genus detestabile monachorum non urbe pellitur, non lapidibus obruitur, non praecipitatur in fluctus? Matronam miserabilem seduxerunt quae quam monacha esse noluerit huic probatur quod nulla gentiliu[m] ita suos unquam filios flaverit." (39.6)

1 (Cont. from preceding page). oculis ad vexillum crucis vols! Pietatis genus est in hac re esse crudelem". (14.2).

they dare, on account of the newness of the movement, to assume that base and ignominious name as it was then considered among the people." (127.5) Little by little as the doctrines of monasticism gained ground the feeling changed from one of contempt to toleration and then reverence for those who could endure to sacrifice for their religion even the material pleasures of life. As we have said men and women travelled long distances simply to behold and perhaps receive the blessing of some of the most noted monks of the East, and Paulinus records that when Melania, "the daughter and granddaughter of consuls", after having left her fortune and her son to the care of the city praetor, and after having become a nun, returned to Italy about the end of the fourth century, her arrival caused a great sensation, a great throng of people in purple and silk escorting her in her rags.¹ (Paulinus Ep. 22). The monks and nuns in their turn were taught to consider any insults they might receive as redounding to their credit² (117.4). Their attitude in public was generally one of humility and gravity. By their enemies they

1. Furthermore, in writing to Pammachius he tells him that the first virtue of a monk is always to scorn the opinion of the world, and that he should remember that he cannot be a servant of the world and of Christ, too. (66.6)
2. One of the famous examples of the disregard of criticism and sneers was that of the Senator Pammachius who appeared in the senate among his associates in the dress of a monk. "Quis hoc crederet ut consulum pronepos et Furiam decus inter purpuras sanctorum furva tunica pullatus incederet ut non erubesceret oculos sodalium, ut deridentes, se ipse rideret?" (66.8)

were described as "tristes" (38.5), and Jerome counsels Demetrias in his rules on keeping virginity: "to laugh and to be laughed at leave to the worldly. Gravity befits thy person." (130.13)

monks
and
secular
clergy

It is interesting, too, to note the relation of the monks to the secular clergy as well as their attitude towards the world at large. Originally monks as a class were regarded as laymen, though even from the first there were individual instances of persons becoming monks after being ordained. Still, as monks, all ranked with the lay and not the clerical part of the community. Most of them preferred it this way, for wealth and worldliness were so associated with the priesthood that one of the axioms was that monks should shun the company of a bishop as they would that of a woman lest they should be ordained against their will. They were in request for the diaconate and priesthood too. The feeling of antagonism became less strongly marked after the fourth century thru the mutual approximation to each other, the gradual relaxation of primitive austerity in the monastery, and the fact that the monastery was often a nursery or training college for the clergy.¹

1. Jerome implies that the life in the monastery gave the training necessary for the priesthood, and dissuades anyone from a premature entrance into clerical rather than the cenobitic life: "ne miles antequam tiro, ne prius magister sis quam discipulus." (125.8). He puts it more plainly still in (125.17): "the clergy are holy and the life of all of them is praiseworthy. So come, live in the monastery so that you may deserve to be a clergyman."

Jerome implies the close relationship that there was or should be between the two orders when he speaks about those "nostri ordinis" meaning the Christians, who slander the monks "as if they themselves were any different from the monks, and that whatever is said against the monks did not redound against the clergy who are the fathers of the monks". (54.5). On his part he says: "Far be it from me to say anything derogatory to those --- through whom we too are made Christians, who, holding the keys of the kingdom of Heaven in a certain fashion judge before the day of Judgment". He adds that the duties and object of the two classes are very different. The clergy are to feed their sheep; the monks are to be fed (another way of stating that they are simply laymen). The former live on the offerings made by men at the altar, the latter are cut off like unfruitful trees if they do not bring their gifts to the altar. Clergy had the power to punish monks for their sins or for disobedience to them, and their social standing was higher, for a monk was not allowed to remain seated even in the presence of a presbyter. But inasmuch as the status of the clergy was higher, so were they more open to the temptations of pride and corruption. Hence Jerome urges his friend Heliodorus to become a monk, but "if the holy persuasions of your brothers win you over to the same order (the priesthood), I shall rejoice at your ascent, but shall fear for your fall". (14.8). Most distinctly is the fundamental difference between the two orders brought

out in Jerome's advice to the presbyter Paulinus who asked for a rule of conduct, " If you wish to exercise the duty of a presbyter, or if the work and honors of a bishopric delight you, live in the cities and towns and make the safety of others the gain to your own soul. But if you wish to be, as you said, a monk, that is, alone, what are you doing in the cities which are not habitations of individuals, but of many?"¹ (58.5)

Before going on to a detailed discussion of the education and manner of life of the monks and nuns, let us note their numbers, distribution and nationality. As we have said, in the 4th century there was a growing feeling of reverence for the monks and for the ideal of celibacy, so that monasticism made its way into almost every province of the Roman Empire. Egypt, as the home of monasticism was most densely populated with men and women vowed to celibacy. The monasteries around Alexandria enclosed not less than two thousand monks, (Palladius Historia Lausiaca C. 7) and at Nitria, situated half way between Alexandria and Memphis there were fifty monasteries housing five thousand monks and nuns at the time Jerome and Paula visited the place. (386 A. D.) (22.33) The Emperor Valens had, some years before, dragged from them by force a like number to make soldiers and to incorporate them into his

1 Si officium vis exercere presbyter, si episcopatus te vel opus vel honos forte delectat vive in urbibus et castellis et aliorum salutem fac lucrum animae, sin autem cup is esse quod diceris, monachus, id est solus, quid facis in urbibus, quae utique non sunt solorum habitacula sed multorum?. (58.5)

Numbers,
Distribution
and the
Nationality
of
the
Monks.

legions. Besides these about six hundred anchorites lived scattered around in solitary and secluded places, but under the same spiritual supervision as the regular monks. (Palad, Lausiac C. 69) Jerome speaks also of multitudes of monks in India, Persia, and Ethiopia(107.3) as well as in the countries of Asia Minor, Pontus, Cappadocia, et cetera. (58.3) The advance of monasticism from East to West was comparatively late and slow, for neither natural conditions nor the civilization of the West was favorable to it. It seemed to spread through Africa and from there over into Spain earlier than it did to Rome, the very center of the Empire. In Spain it was started under the auspices apparently, in the first instance of Donatus. As early as 380 A. D. a decree of a council at Saragossa forbidding priests to affect the dress of monks shows that even then monasticism had made considerable progress there. (Smith Dict. of Christ. Antiq. "Monastery") Early in the 5th century Cassian¹ came from the east and founded two monasteries at Marseilles. He found similar institutions flourishing in the islands then called the Stoechades off the southern coast of France, and at Toulouse and the adjacent districts. (Smith, Dict. of Christ. Antiq. "Monastery") St Martin, bishop of Tours, turned

1. Cassien, Johannes, born in 350 A. D. , died about 440 or 450.

He has been called the founder of the Western Monachism. He was the first to transplant the rules of the Eastern Monks into Europe.

Left Rome and went to Marseilles after 407. Smith Dict. Christ. Biog.

2. Dates of St Martin 316 - 397.

his episcopal palace into a monastery, and at his death was followed to the grave by two thousand monks. (Sulpicius Severus, Vit. St. Mart.) Last of all the monasteries began to spring up about Rome herself. Jerome, referring to the time of Athanasius' visit to Rome (341 A. D.) says " Then there were few Christians among the wise, the powerful and the noble; now there are many monks among the wise, powerful and noble". (63.4) In 412 he says further that so many had embraced the celibate life through the example of Marcella that " we rejoice that Rome has become a Jerusalem. The monasteries for women are numerous and there is an innumerable multitude of monks". (127.8)

It is rather difficult to make any definite statement about the dominant nationality of the cenobites, for the greatest number were to be found in the East, particularly in Egypt, Palestine, and the adjacent regions, yet we have had abundant evidence that they were not all or even in large part natives of those parts, but came from places as remote as India in the East, and Britain in the West. The preponderance of the nationalities, or we might better say, the leading nationalities represented, may be judged somewhat from the fact that at Paula's funeral in Bethlehem (about 404 A. D.) the Psalms were sung in Greek, Latin, and Syriac in turn. (108.23) Not that there were a greater number of Greeks, for example enrolled among the monks, but Greek was a more universal medium of communication than English is now, particularly in Asia Minor and Egypt. That the monks at Rome were

felt to be mainly from these Greek speaking countries is shown also by the cries (mentioned above) with which they were accosted in public: "The Greek! the imposter!"¹

We can tell somewhat more of the classes of society that made up the ranks of the monks, and we find a rather distinct difference in the East and in the West. In the former they were of a much lower order and less degree of education than in the latter, perhaps because they had been established there much longer, possibly, too, because of the heterogeneous mingling of races, and not of the nobility but of the lower strata of each nationality. In Africa the rage for monastic life, according to Augustine, was chiefly among the poor. (De Op. Mon. 22) That there was a mingling of all classes at Bethlehem² is shown in the description of the government of Paula's convent: "She divided up into three groups the young women of the nobility as well as those of the middle, and of the lowest class". (108.12) The illiterate clergy relied on the nearest monastery to help them in the compo-

1. The hatred of the Romans for anything Greek may have led them to class all monks, regardless of nationality, as Greeks.

2. This variety of classes and nationalities was to be expected around the sacred sites, so that no generalization in regard to the predominant types may be made from a study of the monks in Palestine.

sition of their sermons. Deacons, tho forbidden to preach, were allowed to read homilies in church. These were furnished often by the monks who were sometimes at least better educated than the country clergy. (Smith p. 1224). The standard of education among the monks at Bethlehem was very low, however, because Jerome in his homilies addressed to his fellow monks makes constant reference to the "simpliciones fratres," the less learned brothers (53.20). In explaining some passage of the Psalms, he repeats his statements in one place, putting his thot in still simpler form. This he does on account of the "less learned brothers who cannot understand a loftier style."¹ Again he characterizes the clergy as rustics and unlearned men.² According to the rule of St. Pacome in Egypt the monks were strictly obliged to read various portions of the Bible (22.35). Besides, the first duty of novices was to qualify themselves for reading the Scriptures by learning to read and write (Montalembert V.1. p.185). This was a part of the requisites in the monasteries of Bethlehem also because reading, as well as learning, portions of the Bible was part of the daily routine³ (108.19). The knowledge

1. -loquor simplicius propter simpliciore~~s~~ fratres qui non possunt intellegere sublimius. (Anec. Mared.124.22).

2. Ecclesiastici enim rustici sunt et simplices (Anec. Mared. 63.25)

Note also the puerility of: Sed videtur quasi esse misericors Dominus et iustus, verbi gratia desem partes est misericors et decem partes est iustus, et hoc propter simpliciore~~s~~ ita loquor (Anec.Mared 211.5)

3. Cf. advice in 52.7 Divinas Scripturas saepius lege ~~imo~~ nunquam de manibus tuis sacra lectio deponatur.

of many of them may not have extended farther than this for the limited intelligence of the "brothers" at Bethlehem may be inferred from the extreme simplicity of his style in the homilies, the short sentences and absence of attempt at argument or depth of thought. To these may be contrasted his expository epistles such as that to Marcella (Ep. 34) on certain phrases in Psalm 126. That he knew the necessity of suiting his style to the intelligence of his hearers may be noted from his description of the Writings of Hilarius¹ which tho adorned with the embellishments of the Greeks, at times are involved in long periods and are "too far out of range for the reading of the less learned brothers" (58.10). The decadence of literature was general both in the East and West², and Jerome had to defend himself often against the attacks of ignorant priests who criticised him for his love of pagan literature³. Jerome replies

1. Hilarius Pictaviensis (St. Hilary of Poitiers), a noted theologian and bishop of the fourth century who died in 368. Jerome mentions (de Viris Illustribus C. 100) the fact that he was bishop of Aquitaine, and enumerates his writings, among them twelve books, against the Arians, and some scriptural translations from the Greek of Origen.

2. Ammianus Marcellinus dwelling on the decadence of literature among the nobility says: "The libraries are closed forever like so many graves." (Ammian. Marcell. Rom. Hist. Bk. 14, Chap. 6)

3. As soon as he arrived at Bethlehem Jerome opened a free school where he taught his pupils Greek and Latin and had them read pagan authors including the lyric and comic poets. Not only the populace of the city, but Rufinus, his former friend, attacked him bitterly for trying, as they said, to make pagans of the children (Rufinus: Apol. in Hieron. 2.8).

that those who attack him most do not read the Bible any more than they have Cicero, and justifies himself on the ground that the Apostles themselves quoted from pagan authors¹. (70.2). He in his turn complains bitterly about those who attempt to teach the Scriptures which they do not understand (130.17) and warns the provincial and unlearned brother not to think himself holy because he does not know anything² (52.9) a warning which was quite necessary, for "more than one ignorant priest preferred to hide his shame under the mantle of Christian duty". (Thierry F. 259).

In the West at its start monasticism appealed more to the nobility (Montalembert F. 226), and Harnack states that down to the 12th century western monasticism was essentially an aristocratic institution, the entrance into the monasteries being conditioned mostly by the descent of the inmates (Harnack p. 34). The first statement is borne out by noting some of Jeromes first converts in Rome. First of all was Marcella³, who has been mentioned before,

1. ---Sed et Paulus Apostolus "Epimenidis" Poetae abusus versiculo est scribens ad Titum ----(Tit. 1.22). Paul also quotes from Menander and Aratus in same Epistle.

2. In answer to an attack by a minion of Rufinus on this ground he mentions a long list of Greek and Roman ecclesiastical writers (70.4 and 70.5) saying "you do not know what you should first admire in them, their secular learning or their knowledge of the Scriptures".

3. She had really been converted, not by Jerome, but by his predecessor Athanasius and was acquainted with the Alexandrian presbyter, Peter, who succeeded Athanasius to the bishopric. Thru them she became familiar with the life and teachings of the monasteries of the Thebaid. (127.5)

Classes
of So-
ciety,
and Ed-
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West.



a member of one of the most illustrious families at Rome, the Marcelli. She was very well educated and on Jerome's arrival at Rome sought him out because of his reputation as a Biblical scholar (127.7). Many of his letters to her are on doctrinal points or on passages in the Bible, and so keen was she and so great her desire for more knowledge¹ that he told her that she wrote nothing to him which did not put him to the test and compel him to read the Scriptures (29.1). Marcella was the first to found a monastery at Rome where she gathered around her women as high-born and well educated as herself. Among them was Paula, a woman of high lineage, for she traced her ancestry back to the Scipios and the Gracchi, and her husband, Toxotius, of the Julian gens, traced his back to Aeneas. In her epitaph she is called the glorious offspring of Agamemnon (108.33). She had with her her daughters Eustochium and Blesilla, tho Paula and Eustochium did not remain at Rome but followed Jerome to the East. Paula, too, was exceedingly well versed in the Scriptures, was acquainted with the Greek language, and learned Hebrew in order that she might sing the Psalms in the original (108.26). Almost every Roman woman of distinguished birth knew a

1. Divinarum Scripturarum ardor erat incredibilis, semperque cantabat: 'in corde meo abscondi eloquia tua ut non peccem tibi'. (127.4). She also took an active part in the defense of Jerome during his great controversy with Origen and it was thru her persuasions that Pope Anastasius consented to condemn Origen and his defenders. (127.10)

little Greek¹, a fact which is evidenced by Jerome's constant use of Greek words and phrases in his epistles both to men and to women, and his frequent advice to them to read the Scriptures in Greek and compare them with the Latin versions (48.4). That these women and others in the same class were acquainted with secular literature is evident from the amount he quotes from his favorite authors in writing to them², but they seemed to have little interest in anything outside of the Scriptures, and, like Paula, they bent all their studies in that direction.

Taking up further the personnel of Marcella's convent, there were her sister Asella, Furia³ of the race of Camillus (54.1) the daughter of a patrician of consular rank and possessed of vast wealth. (54.4). Fabiola, too, was a

1. Toute Romaine de naissance distinguée savait un peu de grec, ne fut ce que pour dire a ses favoris, suivant le mot de Juvénal, répété par un Père de l' église: *ζωὴ καὶ ψυχὴ*, "ma vie et mon âme"; les matrones chrétiennes l'étudièrent mieux et pour un meilleur usage. (Thierry p. 27 ff.).

2. In his letter to Principia he quotes from Persius, and implies that she is acquainted with his writings for he does not mention the poet's name but says simply "Disertissimique praeceptum Satyrici" (127.6). From Vergil (127.12). In his letter to Furia (Ep. 54) he quotes from Vergil, Persius, and Terence, referring to the latter simply as "Comicus". (549).

3. In 394 he wrote to her one of his famous letters against marriage and urges her to remain a widow. (Ep. 54).

woman of wealth¹ and was a descendent of Julius Maximus. Her literary interests may be seen somewhat from the two dissertations which Jerome wrote at her request, "On the dress of the High Priest". (Ep. 64) and "On the Stations of the Israelites in their march through the desert" (Ep. 78). Laeta and Melania² though not of this group, were women of equal station and education, the lat-

1. Fabiola divorced herself from her first husband, and while he was still alive, married again. This brought upon her the censure of the church, so that after the death of her second husband, she voluntarily went through a public penance at Rome (77.4). She then sold all her possessions, and spent the rest of the life in establishing monasteries, and in caring for the poor in her "Xenodochium" or guest house at the harbor of Rome. (Ep. 77.)

2. Melania, the wife of a man of consular rank, Marcellinus, lost her husband at the age of twenty two, and shortly after two of her three sons. She did not weep, but rejoicing that she was free to follow the religious life left her fortune and her son to the city praetor, (Ex. Hieron. Chronicon. ad an. Christi 377) and set out for Jerusalem (32.4) 372 A. D. About 375 she established herself on the Mount of Olives and formed a community of fifty virgins. When Jerome and Paula came to Jerusalem (386) she was a friend of theirs, but later she sided with Rufinus in his controversy with Jerome on the Origenistic question⁴ (Smith, Dict. of Christ. Biog. "Melania")

ter being very conspicuous in Jerome's controversy with Rufinus¹ on the Origenistic question.

The spread of monastic teachings was not confined to patrician women, however, for in congratulating Demetrias on her determination to keep virginity, Jerome says that a crowd of clients and slaves followed the example of their patroness and mistress, and that the profession of virginity was being warmly received in every home. (130.6). There is also a list of the men who were grouped around Jerome at Aquileia, and of the nine men mentioned by Thierry² all were men of learning and prominence

1. Rufinus of Aquileia, the translator of Origen and Eusebius: (345-410). He was born in north Italy, and was baptized at Aquileia (371 A. D.) He was one of the group of ascetics gathered around Jerome there. He lived in Egypt eight years and in Palestine eighteen years (371-397). There on the Mt. of Olives together with Melania he supported a monastery and entertained at his own expense thousands of pilgrims. Of chief interest in connection with Jerome was his translation of Origen's *περὶ ἀρχῶν* , a heretical treatise on the nature of Christ and of the Trinity. Jerome attacks him (Ep. 124) for the looseness and mutilation of his translation and for claiming that Origen was not as heretical as he really was . His principal attack against Rufinus is in his "Apologia adversus Libros Rufini". (Smith, Dict. Christ. Biog. "Rufinus")

2. See next page .

except Hylas¹, who had formerly been a slave of Melania's and had been set free by her. Thus we find that though a large proportion of Jerome's correspondents were women like Marcella or men like Pammachus, yet monasticism enrolled the lower classes too, though probably not to the extent that it did in the East.

In the discussion of the origin of Monasticism, three different stages in the development of that life were mentioned, the hermit, the "laura" and the cenobitic communities. No mention was made of the comparative merits of the three, nor of their internal organization. During the early part of his religious life Jerome was strongly in favor of the solitary existence of the anchorite. He urged Heliodorus, his friend, to come to the desert of Chalcis with him as a hermit (Ep. 14) and glorified the accompanying hardships of poverty, labor, and the bed on the ground, the unkempt head and body, the fastings, and the loneliness of the desert (14.10). But in the latter part of his life he discusses the relative value of the solitary and of the "cenobitic" life and declares strongly for the latter, because in it there is a great-

(Note 2. continued) Rufinus, Bonosus (34), Heliodorus, later a bishop as were also the brothers Chromatius and Eusebius, Julianus, deacon of Aquileia (Ep. 6), Jovinus, Niceas, the archdeacon there (Ep. 8) and Chrysogonus (Ep. 9) (Thierry p. 39 ff)

1. Hylas - "Erat nobiscum et Hylas sanctae Melaniae famulus qui puritate morum masculam servitutis abluerat". (3.3)

er discipline for the individual¹. When living in solitude men are too much a prey to their own thoughts, are inclined to arrogance and contempt of all other classes, including the clergy and the regular monks². This is even more true of women whose nature is changeable and vacillating, "and who deteriorate quickly if left to follow their own judgment³. The system of "laura" the dwelling together of two or three who supported themselves by selling the products of their own labor, lived for the most part in towns, ate in common, but were bound to each other by no rule, he considers

1. "Mihi quidem placet ut habeas Sanctorum contubernium, nec ipse te doceas et absque ductore ingrediariis viam quam nunquam ingressus es". (125.9)

2. Jerome by no means disapproves of the solitary life, but considers that it should be only for veterans, as it were, who have first been trained in self mastery in the monasteries. (125.7)

"Sed de ludo monasteriorum huiusce modi volumus egredi milites quos eremi dura rudimenta non terrent" ---

3. " Utrum solitaria an cum multis vita melior sit? -- quarum prior praefertur quidem secundae; sed si in viris periculosa est ne abstracti ab hominum frequentia sordidis et impiis cogitationibus pateant et pleni arrogantiae et supercilii, cunctos despiciant armentque linguas suas vel clericis vel aliis monachis detrahendo-- quanto magis in feminis quarum mutabilis fluctuansque sententia si suo arbitrio relinquatur cito ad deteriora debatur?" (130.17)

very unsatisfactory also¹. There was frequent strife among them because they had no recognized head. They were likely also to carry all their acts to excess, striving to out do each other in fasting and they affected coarser clothes, criticised the lay clergy, and on feast days ²gorged themselves.

The "cenobitic" life had its disadvantages, but they were offset by the good which was obtained from the association of men with their fellows under a firm organization. They were taught implicit obedience to their head, humility, patience, silence, and kindness to each other. They could not eat, clothe themselves, or give rein to their thoughts as they wished; nor could they abandon their work when they were wearied. (125.15) An idea of the government of the monasteries may be obtained from the description of those in Egypt, the models for the organization of those in the East. "All are compelled to make an agreement to obey their elders and to do whatever they order. They are divided into groups of ten and of hundreds in such a way that the tenth man has charge of nine men, and again the hundredth has under him the ten who

1. His igitur quasi quibusdam pestibus exterminatis, venianus ad eos qui plures in commune habitant. (22.35) The "his" refers to the members of the *aura*.

2. Re vera solent certare jejuniis et rem secreti victoriae faciunt. Apud hos affectata sunt omnia: laxae manicae, caligae follicantes, vestes grossior crebra suspiria, visatis virginum, detractis clericorum, et si quando festior dies venerit saturantur ad vomitum". (22.34)

have been put in charge of the others. They remain separated but in adjoining cells, up to the ninth hour as if it were a legal holiday; no one goes to anyone else with the exception of those whom we have spoken of as the "decani", so that if anyone wavers in his meditations he may be consoled by his (the decanus') encouragements. After the ninth hour they meet together, sing psalms, and the Scriptures are read according to custom, and after the prayers are ended all sit down again, and he whom they call the father begins to preach in their midst. While he is speaking, the silence is so great that no one dares to look about at another or cough. After this meeting is dismissed each group of ten with their "decanus" proceed to the tables on which they wait each week in turn - - - the work of the day is laid out which, assigned by the dean is handed to the overseer who, with great trembling renders an account himself every month to the father of them all¹.

1. "Prima apud eos confoederatio est oboedire maioribus et quidquid iusserint facere divisi sunt per decurias atque centurias ita ut novem hominibus decimus praesit et rursus decem praepositos sub se centesimus habeat. Manent separati, sed iunctis cellulis. Usque ad horam nonam exceptis quos decanos diximus, ut si cogitationibus forte quis fluctuat illius consoletur alloquiis. Post horam nonam in commune concurritur, psalmi resonant, scripturae ex more recitantur et completis orationibus cunctisque residentibus mediis quem patrem vocant incipit disputare. Quo loquente tantum silentium

Jerome has given no hint as to whether he modelled the government of his monastery at Bethlehem exactly after those of Egypt. But in both his and Paula's monasteries the order of services and requirements to read certain portions of the Scriptures daily were similar to those in Egypt (108.19) Speaking of Paula's convents he says that she divided into three groups and convents, the women of the noble, the middle, and the lowest class; (mentioned before) these were separated in their work and in their meals, but met together for the singing of the Psalms and for prayers. The singing of the "Alleluia" was the signal for summoning them to the meeting. After this they did not take their seats but listened to an exhortation by the foremost nun or by one who had been there longest. " At dawn, at the third hour, at the sixth, the ninth, at evening and in the middle of the night the psalter was

(Continued from last page) fit ut nemo ad alium respicere, nemo audeat excreare. - - - post hoc concilium solvitur et unaquaeque decuria cum suo parente pergit ad mensas quibus per singulas ebdomadas vicissim ministrant. Opus diei statutum est quod decano reddi fertur ad oeconomum qui et ipse per singulos menses patri omnium cum magno reddit tremore rationem. (22.35)

1. "Per ordinum": haec nempe erat consuetudo in multis et maxime Aegypti Ecclesiis ac coetibus Monachorum ut Psalmi non ut hodie fit alternis versiculus ab omnibus simul sed a singulis singuli decantarentur. (Vallarn(c) to 108.19)

2. In the letter to the nun, Eustochium, she is advised to rise twice or three times during the night and to repeat what she knows by heart of the Scriptures. (22.37)

sung by them in turn. (108.19) Besides these stated hours for prayer and singing of the Psalms (130.15) a certain portion of the day was spent in reading and learning parts of the Scriptures, by those who were simply keeping virginity as well as by those in the monasteries¹. (22.35) In Egypt they were relieved from prayers and reading only on Sundays, (22.35) when they all met in the church where the services were held. Palladius states (Palladius Lausiaca. c. 7) that they, together with the six hundred anchorites met for worship on Saturdays as well as Sundays. There were eight presbyters attached to the church, but as long as the first one was alive he alone officiated at the Communion, delivered the sermons and judged in matters that came up. The rest simply sat

1. Advice to Demetrias: "Statue quot horis sanctam Scripturam ediscere debeas (130.15) Cf. the advice to Laeta in regard to her daughter: "Reddat tibi pensum quotidie de Scripturarum floribus carptum. Discat Graecorum versuum numerum. Sequatur statim Latina eruditio - - - Orationi lectio, lectioni succedat oratio". (107.) And to Furia: "Quando comedis cogita quod statim tibi orandum illico et legendum sit. De Scripturis sanctis habeto fixum versuum numerum, istud pensum Domino tuo redde. Nec ante quieti membra concedas quam calathum pectoris tui hoc subtegmine impleveris. Post Scripturas sanctas, doctorum hominum tractatus lege" . (54.11)

there in silence¹. At Bethlehem the nuns went to church only on Sunday, each column being headed by its own directress or mother. (108.19) Jerome uses the word "agmen", column or band, and it may be inferred from this that in her three monasteries, Paula used some system of division into groups such as described in the Egyptian monasteries. She did follow their methods in minor details, even to the assigning of the work for the week after the return from church. (108.10) A strict espionage was kept over monks and nuns alike. In Egypt after the prayers and exhortation followed by the meal, they returned to their cells and each one (of the decani) urges those under him to note the excellent qualities of some of the others in demeanor and bearing. At night they go around to the cells of the individuals, and with ear placed at the keyhole try to find out what the different ones are doing. If they find any who are dilatory and lax in their prayers they conceal what they know and visit him oftener and when they do speak, they urge him rather than compel him to pray: (22. 35) So in Bethlehem watch was kept over those who were late at the singing of the Psalms or were lazy in their work. (108.19)

1. "Veniunt autem ad Ecclesiam Sabbato solum et Dominico, Sunt autem acto presbyter qui praesunt huic ecclesiae, in qua quandiu vivit primus presbyter huius ecclesiae nullus alius offert nec indicat, nec habet sermonem, sed tacite solum cum eo seient" (Pallad. Lausiaca. C, 7)

2. Jerome mentions the strictness of the surveillance of the nuns in his letter to Sabinianus (Ep. 147) who had attempted a flirtation with a nun at Bethlehem, but so great was the diligence of the mother that Sabinianus had had opportunity to see her only at church and to speak to her only thru the window at night (147.6)

As to the government in Marcella's convent on the Aventine Hill it is probable that she modelled it after the Egyptian monasteries¹. Thierry says however, that no fixed rule governed the diverse assemblage of people who gathered there, but who " did not practice the life in common"². They simply limited themselves to reading the Scriptures together , singing Psalms, and uniting in performing good works. They also kept in touch, through correspondence with monks and nuns outside , with the conditions in the Church through out the Empire. Some who did not become nuns would come to spend a few hours every day in the convent, and would then return to their families. (Thierry p^t 27) This may have been before Marcella h^ad it well organized, but Jerome testifies that through the Alexandrian priests and Pope Athanasius she had lear-

1. "Marcelle avait appris des prêtres alexandrins comment fonctionnaient au désert les institutions des Hilarion et des Pacôme; elle condensait, avec la force de son génie et de sa sainteté les éléments si bien disposés par le ciel en un corps homogène et puissant." ^{Faurhe} (Hist. de Sainte Marcelle.)

2. Aucune règle fixe ne présidait a cette réunion de personnes si diverses et qui ne pratiquaient pas la vie en commun' (Thierry p^t 27)

ned about the life of Antony¹, and the discipline in the monaster-
ies of Pachomius² and the Thebaid. She must have followed the set
hours of prayer established in the Egyptian monasteries, and prob-
ably their other customs too, for Jerome writing to Eustochium
in 384 when she was still in Rome, and connected with Marcella's
convent says" there is no one who does not know about the third
hour, the sixth, the ninth, at dawn and at evening". (22.37) He
gives her besides other directions as to the use of her time which
were similar to the usages in the East. (22.37 ff.)

1. Antony of Thebes (251-356), the father of monastic asceticism.
He lived a solitary life until 305 when he was persuaded to found
the monastery of Fayum, merely a group of scattered and separate
cells, but which may be considered the origin of cenobitic
life. He declined, however, to preside over a monastery, nor was
he the author of any rules. Those which the monks of the East at-
tributed to him are by St. Basil. (International Ency. I.)

2. Pachomius who was born in 292 is held to have been the first
to substitute for the free asceticism of the hermit the regular
cenobitic system. At Tabennae, an island in the Nile he founded
the first monastic institution. (About 325 A. D.) The members a-
greed to follow certain rules of life and conduct drawn up by him
(for which see Pallad Lausiaco. c. 38) (Inter. Ency. v. XIII.)

Both monks and nuns were taught obedience to their superiors and respect amounting to fear¹. Jerome, in his advice to the monk Rusticus, says: "Fear him, who has been placed at the head of the monastery, as a master, love him as a parent, believe that whatever he commands is for your good." (125.15). Paula, too, kept strict watch over the inmates of her convents, seeing that they obeyed the rules down to the smallest point. If they were remiss they were corrected in various ways, by soothing words if they were wrathful, and by reproof if they were unyielding. If she found anyone who was garrulous and quarrelsome and did not listen to repeated warnings, she made her pray, apart from the assemblage of the nuns, at the threshold of the dining room and compelled her to eat her food by herself so that if rebukes were not effective shame might be. (108.19).

Altho the monks and nuns were to watch each other closely for any signs of remissness, they were also to note carefully each other's good points (125.15) and profit by them. They were especially to cultivate humility, endure wrongs patiently and serve their brothers (125.15). Tho concealing their kindly feelings towards each other when well, if anyone became sick their care was lavished on him or her, as the case might be, even offering dainty foods forbidden to

1. Note the attitude of the steward who (as mentioned before) renders "with great fear" an account to the father every month (22.35).

Also the absolute silence and rule against looking to the right or to the left when the father was preaching.

the rest (108.20) and in the case of a monk he was moved to a larger room and taken care of by old men in such a way that "he would not long for the delights of the cities or the affection of his mother" (22.35).

Besides the time required each day for prayer, singing the Psalms, and reading and learning parts of the Scriptures, the monks and nuns had definite labors to perform, and the work was divided up without distinction as to rank, for Jerome, in writing to Pammachius describes the occupations of Paula and Eustochum in the convent, contrasting that life with the one they pursued before becoming nuns. He says:¹ "They boldly provide for themselves, and they prepare the lamps, kindle the fire, sweep the floors, wash the vegetables, put the herbs into the boiling pot, lay the tables, place the goblets around, dish the food, and run hither and thither²".

He advises the virgin Demetrias always to have the wool in her hands and to spin or weave, telling her that nothing is more precious to Christ than that which she has done with her own hands. (130.15). The making of garments for themselves and for the poor must have been one of the important occupations in the convents. (108.19). He urges aeta, who is to bring up her daughter to be a nun, to

1. --Sui conparatione forniculae vel lucernas concinnant vel succendunt focum, pavimenta verrunt, mundant legumina, holerum fasciculos in ferventem ollam deiciunt, adponunt mensas, calices porrigunt, effundunt cibos, huc illucque discurrunt (66.13).

2. Note Jerome's advice to the monk Rusticus: "Nunquam de manu et oculis tuis recedat liber; discatur Psalterium ad verbum". (125.11).

teach her to spin wool and to make garments which may be for use rather than for ornament. (108.10). To care for the sick and the destitute was an essential duty of both monks and nuns (52.15).

The best description of the work of the monks is contained in Jerome's advice to the monk Rusticus as to the duty of a good monk: "Do some work so that the devil may always find you busy, --- either weave baskets from rushes, or plait reed baskets from pliant withes; let the ground be hoed; let the gardens be divided into equal plots; when the seeds of vegetables have been sown¹ or the plants have been set in rows let irrigating waters be let in. ---- Let unfruitful trees be grafted with buds or shoots so that after a little time you may pluck the sweet fruits of your labor. Build beehives for your bees. --- Let nets be woven for catching fish, let books be written so that both the hand may toil for food and the mind may be satisfied with reading.²" In a letter to Eustochium

1. Jerome in Ep. 43.3 speaks about doing gardening: "Hulus nostris manibus inrigatum."

It is interesting to note the division of labor at Nitria. They had a "guest house" where visitors were welcome at any time, were allowed to stay two or three years if they wished, and could depart whenever they desired. However, after residing there one week in idleness they were sent out to take their part in the work, either in the garden or mill or bake shop. They also made and sold wine, and made linen garments. (Pallad., *Gausiac.* C. 7.).

2. "Facito aliquid operis ut te semper diabolus inveniatur occupatum ---. Vel fiscellam texe junco, vel canistrum lentis plecte viminibus; sarriatur humus; areolae aequo limite dividantur; in quibus cum

Food
the
monks
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Jerome also speaks of a monk in Egypt who had at his death accumulated some money from making fishing nets (22.33). Copying books was a very important work, however. Jerome is known to have had some copied for himself in Rufinus' monastery at Bethlehem¹, for the latter censures him strongly because Jerome had had such works as the Dialogues of Plato and of Cicero copied in the Monastery on the Mt. of Olives, and had paid a larger price for them even than for having the Scriptures copied (Rufin. Apol. in Hieron. 2.8)

The food of the monks and nuns was exceedingly simple. Jerome mentions his fare in the Desert of Chalcis as coarse bread, vegetables,² and water (43.3). Bread and vegetables are always mentioned as the staples for both men and women. They are to avoid game (54.12) and fish (45.5) except that once in a while small fish may be eaten for the evening meal, but they are to be considered as

2. Green vegetables and uncooked food predominated: "De cibis vero et potu taceo, cum etiam languentes aqua frigida utantur et coctum aliquid accepisse luxuriae est." (22.7).

(Note 2 cont. from preceeding page) olerum jacta fuerint semina vel plantae per ordinem positae, aquae ducantur irriguae ---. Inserantur infructuosae arbores, vel gemmis, vel surculis, ut parvo post tempore, laboris tui dulcia poma decerpas. Apum fabricare alvearia ----. Textantur et linia capiendis piscibus, scribantur libri, ut et manus operetur cibum et animus lectione saturetur." (125.11).

1. He also speaks about Rufinus having the translation of Origen's *περὶ ἀρχῶν* done in his monastery (124.1).

the greatest delicacies, (68.6) and he contrasts his diet of beans with the fowl and sturgeon of the gourmand. (45.5). Some who carried their asceticism to a greater extreme lived simply on bread, salt, and water (24.3). Jerome seems to approve of this, tho in his advice to Laeta about her daughter he says that long and immoderate fasting as well as abstaining from the use of oil on food¹ and from fruit displeased him (107.10). He further sanctions the use of fine bread (simila) as well as the coarser kind (107.10). The young in particular are to avoid warm and inflaming drinks and food (54.9), and are warned especially to avoid wine unless their health is poor (54.10). At Nitria only the old men received wine (22.35), and besides the fact that bread, legumes, and green vegetables were their staples, Jerome states that salt was the only seasoning used (22.35).

It is probable that at this time there was less uniformity in matters of diet than later when the great monastic rules had been worked out and the law was laid down even for the smallest details of daily life. The general practice was to eat or fast according to the strength of the individual, and this custom is expressly stated about the monks under Pachomius for they were compelled neither to fast nor to eat (Pallad., Sausiae. C. 7.)

In the matter of dress also Jerome recommends moderation, for "neither affected squalor nor extreme elegance befit Christians"

1. Yet he tells in an approving manner of Paula "who, except on fast days, hardly took oil on her food, so that from this fact alone it may be judged what she thought about wine, fish sauce, fish, and milk, honey, and eggs and all the rest of the things that are pleasing to the taste." (108.17).

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(22.29)¹, and he speaks particularly about not wearing anything that is conspicuous for its shabbiness, so that the crowds on the street may have no cause to point their fingers (22.27). Many thot to gain glory by seeming more humble and religious than they were (22.27), and this Jerome warns against tho he seems to have admired some, who with real religious fervor, clad themselves in rags and neglected ordinary cle^anliness². Paula even went so far as to exchange her former garments of silk and linen for those of goats hair (108.15). Women did not as a rule go to that extreme, but simply clothed themselves in woollen garments or in sack cloth (23.2). The tunic of virgins or nuns was generally dark brown in color and the mantle of some da^a material (128.2). The dress of the nuns in Paula's convents was uniform, and linen was used only for wiping the hands (108.19). Jerome says that some would have a girl who is dedicated to virginity wear from childhood dark clothes, use no linen, and

1. At times, however, in his protests against extravagance in dress and the use of cosmetics, he makes more extreme statements such as "quanto foedior, tanto pulchrior" (54.7), statements which are not to be taken as his real opinion or sober judgement in the matter.

2. Ex. Paula - "Balneas nisi periclitans non adiit. (108.15).

3. Their clothes must have been mainly of wool from the advice which Jerome gives constantly to spin wool and to make garments from it.

(See under heading of "Daily Routine of Monks and Nuns"). He also mentions the "cingulum" or girdle of wool worn by Blesilla. (38.4).

wear no gold on her neck or head. Others would allow them until she grows up and until it is time for her to cast them aside entirely, with the idea that if they are permitted to have jewelry¹ and attractive clothing when young they will become wearied of them after a time, and will be ready to give them up. (128.2). Jerome does not state which plan he likes better, but does insist constantly on "unadorned clothing" (*inculta vestes* (23.2) for a virgin or a nun, and "let her attire and dress indicate to whom she has been vowed" (107.5). It was the custom in Egypt and Syria for a nun when she entered to have her hair cut by the mother of the monastery and after that not to go about with head uncovered but always to have it veiled (147.5). If Jeromes advice was generally followed the veil must have concealed quite a little of the face, for he tells Demetrias not to appear on the street except with her face veiled so that her eyes are hardly visible (130.18).

Thus the two distinct marks of a virgin or a nun were the wearing of the dark colored dress and the assuming of the veil or "*flammeum virginale*" a long veil reaching to the feet, which denoted that the wearer was the "bride of Christ". The maiden was vested with this veil publicly, in church and seemingly on some feast day (147.5) The ceremony was performed by the bishop².

1. It is interesting to note that Asella, one of Paula's daughters, sold her "*murenula*" or twisted gold necklace and, with the money obtained, bought a darker colored tunic, which she could not obtain from her mother, and put it on (24.3).

2. "*Scio quod ad imprecationem pontificis flammeum virginalem sanctum operuerit caput.*" (130.2).

For the dress of the monks Jerome has the same general advice as for that of the nuns, moderate neatness the dark colored clothes (52.9 & 66.13). But he also speaks about their going bare foot (66.13). This seems to be the only place where Jerome mentions this custom so that it is not possible to say whether or not it was general¹.

In writing to **Licinius**, who later became a monk, Jerome says he has sent him two mantles (palliola), an "amphimallum"², and four small garments of goats hair (cilicola) which are adapted to his calling (ie., that of a monk) and to his uses (71.7). These seem to have been the distinctive features of the clothing of the monks, particularly the coarseness and shaggy of the material used, as well as the somberness of the color.

In conclusion we should note that the monks of the fourth century were not, as we have shown, as wonderfully organized as they were from the sixth century on, nor had their work, such as

1. The shoes of the women were coarse and cheap, in keeping with the rest of their garb (38.4).
2. The "amphimallum" was of woolen cloth, hairy or shaggy on both sides and, according to Migne (71.7 note -e-), was a long loose garment covering the whole body. Whether it was worn at this time, as later, in religious services there seems to be a doubt, tho Jerome implies its use in the latter when he says: Duo palliola et amphimallum de tuis usibus vel utenda vel sanctis danda suscepi (71.7).

various branches of manual labor and the copying of books become an end in themselves. They were regarded simply as the means to keep their hands and minds occupied. The greatest stress was put upon contemplation, prayer and fasting. Tho the letter was often carried to excess and tho the commands of the Bible were too literally obeyed in regard to almsgiving and forsaking everything to follow monastic principles, yet the monks and nuns had a most salutary influence on the secular Christians and pagans at large. This fact is clearly evidenced by the change from hatred to deepest reverence for the order.

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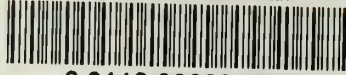
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